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ABSTRACT

One of a series of papers which focus on 10- to 15-year-old adolescents, this publication describes these young people as they work through developmental tasks in environments (families, communities, peer groups, and schools) that are part of their daily lives. This description is used as a basis to accomplish the following: (1) a further definition of the classic issues of adolescent development; (2) a brief and selective summary of what is and what is not known about development during adolescence; and (3) a placing of the issues of attachment, autonomy, intimacy, sexuality, achievement, and identity in a framework that helps to made sense of adolescence. These issues are defined, clarified, and discussed in relation to the primary changes (biological, reasoning, and social definition) that occur during adolescence. In addition, an annotated bibliography containing 40 references to papers of related interest is included. (Author/SS)

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Understanding Early Adolescence: A Framework

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by John P. Hill

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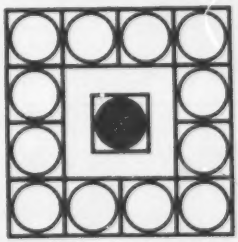

center for early adolescence

Understanding Early Adolescence: A Framework

by John P. Hill, Ph.D.
Research Program on Social Relations
in Early Adolescence, Center for the Study of
Youth Development, Boys Town, Nebraska

An
Annotated
Bibliography

by David S. Sheaves
Information Services Coordinator
Center for Early Adolescence

and Barbara Newmark
Young Adult Services
American Library Association

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Center for Early Adolescence
Department of Maternal and Child Health
School of Public Health
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Suite 223, Carr Mill Mall
Carrboro, NC 27510

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Joan Scheff Lipsitz, Ph.D., Director

Leah M. Lefstein, Publications Editor

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Introduction

For the past decade John Hill has articulated a comprehensive view of adolescence in America that has shaped the views of policy setters in Washington, executives in private foundations, and former graduate students now teaching and conducting research across the country. He wrote an unpublished seminal paper for the Office of Child Development in May 1973, "Some Perspectives on Adolescence in American Society," that lays out major conceptual issues, part of which have evolved into this publication. Had his recommendations for policy and research been attended to in 1973, the status of adolescents in the 1980s would be greatly improved.

Hill also wrote a paper for the National Institute of Education, "Secondary Schools, Socialization, and Social Development During Adolescence," another seminal piece that suggested a research agenda for studying the effects of secondary schools on the social development of adolescents. This paper, recently rediscovered at N.I.E., is helping to inform the Institute's research program on early adolescence. John Hill's influence at present in the field of adolescent research is unparalleled.

Parts of both papers evolved into **Understanding Early Adolescence: A Framework.** In this new publication, Hill helps the reader to see young adolescents in the environments that are part of their daily lives—their families, schools, peer groups, and communities. In each of these settings, the young person works through a vital set of developmental tasks and changes that will lead to adulthood. For the concerned professional, parent, volunteer, or policymaker, **Understanding Early Adolescence** is an indispensable guide to the age group.

The Center for Early Adolescence is proud to publish Hill's latest work.

☆ ☆ ☆

Early adolescence is a uniquely critical time in human development. During this frequently overlooked period of growth and change, young people emerge from the depen-

dence of childhood to face the freedom, responsibility, and conflicting values of adulthood.

The Center for Early Adolescence urges positive intervention by adults who work with the age group. Established with support from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Lyndhurst Foundation, the Center is located at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Through an interdisciplinary network of concerned professionals, the Center offers training, technical assistance, and information to those who work with 10- to 15-year-old youth. In seeking to improve the quality of services provided to young people, the Center also works with government officials and other policymakers to promote the healthy development of all young adolescents.

Understanding Early Adolescents: A Framework is one of a series of papers on 10- to 15-year-old youth as they develop in their families, their communities, and their schools. The series is edited by Leah Lefstein.

The bibliography for this publication is the work of Barbara Newmark, of the American Library Association's Young Adult Services Division, and David Sheaves, of the Center for Early Adolescence staff.

The Center is grateful to the Ford Foundation and the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation for their financial support of this book.

Joan Scheff Lipsitz
Director

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The Center for Early Adolescence
Department of Maternal and Child Health
School of Public Health
University of North Carolina
Suite 223, Carr Mill Mall
Carrboro, NC 27510
(919) 966-1148

UNDERSTANDING EARLY ADOLESCENCE: A FRAMEWORK

by John P. Hill

Foreword

Much of what we have been inspired to learn about adolescent development has stemmed from the work and thought of clinicians who work with the age group. When the social psychologist, Kurt Lewin, said that nothing is so practical as a good theory, he might have had these practitioners in mind. Eager to make sense of their adult, young adult, and adolescent clients' experience of adolescence, they began to search for theories that might help them to understand the surface behavior of their clients. Thus, patients' reports of conflicts between adolescents and their parents came to be seen by Anna Freud as outward signs of an underlying process of disengagement; that is, a change in the nature of the passionate attachments of children to their parents. Similarly, Erik Erikson came to see peer group clannishness, intolerance for anybody who is different, and the remarkable conformity in dress and appearance of adolescents as indicators of some underlying processes caused by adjustment to a new self at a time of striking changes in bodily appearance, in thinking ability, and in social roles (such as moving into a larger and less personal school environment). Erikson argued that the badges of peer group membership offer a "ready made" identity that makes up for the uncertainty and confusion of suddenly not knowing who one is. Harry Stack Sullivan, who worked with very ill, psychotic adults, came to see adolescence as a crucial time for putting together capacities for deep friendship—he called these capacities *intimacy*—with sexual maturity. This is a necessary integration, Sullivan argued, if adulthood is to be healthy. These attempts to make sense out of practical experience with clients whose adolescence was troubling have produced many of the chapter headings of adolescent psychology books—*disengagement, identity, intimacy, sexuality.*

Not all of our conceptions of adolescence are rooted in theoretical works based upon practical experience. Such works have inspired researchers in many fields to conduct laboratory and field studies. The ideas developed by pioneering clinicians have been used in an attempt to understand adolescents who do not seem to have problems in their daily lives. As we shall see below, the application of ideas based upon adolescents with problems to research dealing with "normal" young people sometimes has had unexpected and inconsistent results. Although the clinicians' ideas have not always held up, their theories continue to be important, because they point to some of the key issues in adolescent development. Even though some aspects of the theories are untestable—or if, when tested, reveal basic weaknesses—the issues themselves remain critical to our building an increased understanding of adolescence.

Another source of issues important to understanding adolescence has been the work of those researchers who have used their skills to solve practical problems. Those interested in measuring achievement through standardized tests have found that it is not until adolescence that some clear differences in performance come about—differences between boys' and girls' scores on mathematical and verbal tests, for example. While we still do not know too much about *why* such differences occur, the applied researchers, like the clinicians and theorists, identified an issue of scientific and practical importance. Similarly, those applied researchers who have studied delinquency pose the issue of possible negative influence of peers on adolescents.

The purpose of this paper is threefold: to define the classic issues of adolescent development further; to summarize briefly and selectively what we do and do not know about development in adolescence; and, most important, to put the issues in a framework that helps to make sense out of adolescence as a whole. The framework should help connect bits and pieces of information about adolescence—whether from what you read or from what you experience yourself—with a broader view of the period. What we know about adolescence as social and behavioral scientists and clinicians is slim and scattered, compared to what we know about early childhood. The framework is intended to be a map to what is known and what might be known. It is not the only possible map nor will it continue to be useful forever. As our knowledge grows, our understanding of key issues and their relative importance may well change. But the map already has been a guide to many different groups

of practitioners in in-service training sessions; as a means of organizing nearly a dozen adolescent development courses for graduate and undergraduate students; in the organization of review papers for policymakers, practitioners, and scientists on what we know and what we need to know about adolescence; and in suggesting needed research projects to scientists and to scientists-in-training. The map is most likely to be helpful if you consult it often, considering it a tool that will become familiar through frequent use—as you probably once approached road maps. (Since a number of people can't stand road maps, the analogy from here on will be put to rest and our guide to adolescence will remain a framework.)

In order to establish the framework, I will first define and clarify six of the issues already mentioned: attachment, autonomy, intimacy, sexuality, achievement, and identity. I call these issues the secondary changes of early adolescence. Next, the primary changes of early adolescence—biological change, changes in reasoning, and changes in social definition—and their connections with the secondary changes will be discussed. I will also describe the relationship between the primary and secondary changes and the adolescent's position in the family, the peer group, and the school. Finally, we will view the framework as a whole.

Chapter I

SECONDARY CHANGES OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

To understand the significance of the biological, psychological, and social phenomena of early adolescence, the reader must be familiar with the secondary issues that arise from these primary changes. In Table 1, a brief definition of each of the psychosocial issues is presented.

ATTACHMENT

The issue of change in attachment to parents is raised in its clearest form in the work of Anna Freud. Her point of view has been and continues to be reflected in the training of many different kinds of professionals who work with adolescents. The major task of adolescence, from the psychoanalytic point of view, is "disengagement," a change in the passionate attachments of children to their parents. Children are said to see their parents as all-providing and all-powerful. These fantasies of parental omnipotence and unending support and the child's intense feelings of love and anger towards parents must be modified. Perceptions must become more realistic and passions less heated if the child eventually is to form satisfactory heterosexual relationships with peers. In order for the ties of childhood to be loosened, the early adolescent must and (according to the analysts) generally does relive them in order to disengage. From this point of view, many of the phenomena of early adolescence are to be understood in terms of regression, a reworking of those powerful young-child-like feelings, fantasies, thoughts, and ideas, positive and negative, that one has about one's parents.

Consider the young adolescent's room, full of posters of pop stars or sports figures. The posters may represent idealized versions of the positive attributes children attach to parents. When the adolescent has mature investments in other people, the posters come down. As Peter Blos interprets this experi-

Table 1
Psychosocial Issues in Adolescent Development

Issue	Adolescent Change
Attachment	Transforming childhood social bonds to parents to bonds acceptable between parents and their adult children.
Autonomy	Extending self-initiated activity and confidence in it to wider behavioral realms.
Sexuality	Transforming social roles and gender identity to incorporate sexual activity with others.
Intimacy	Transforming acquaintanceships into friendships; deepening and broadening capacities for self-disclosure, affective perspective-taking, altruism.
Achievement	Focusing industry and ambition into channels that are future-oriented and realistic.
Identity	Transforming images of self to accommodate primary and secondary change; coordinating images to attain a self-theory that incorporates uniqueness and continuity through time.

ence, the posters are removed when the adolescent is able to deal with real people as they are, rather than assuming that others are all-powerful, all-loving, or all-knowing like Mommy or Daddy. That so many adolescents are preoccupied for long periods of time with ideals and abstractions—of fidelity, of beauty, of equality, and the like—the analysts suggest is also a temporary refuge, a way of working through the idealistic and idolizing perceptions children have about their parents. The analysts also suggest that rebelliousness is normal during adolescence; it too is a way of bringing about disengagement. They say that storm and stress in the individual adolescent and in the adolescent's family are to be expected.

Despite the widespread acceptance of psychoanalytic theory and watered-down versions of it, few researchers have actually studied changes in attachment during early adolescence. It seems obvious from informal observation that some kind of disengagement does occur. There are noticeable changes in the expression of affection, for example. The hugs, pats, and kisses that were all right before seem less acceptable now. (Perhaps this occurs because of the emerging sexual maturity of the adolescent and the new sexual meaning that such behaviors begin to take on—even with parents.) However, we do not know enough to describe the process or its outcomes very well. What we do know from existing research is that there is not as much storm and stress involved in disengagement from parents in typical families as some psychoanalysts would lead us to believe. In middle-class families at least, many young people continue to report strong affection and respect for parents throughout the second decade of life. Even as they become more and more oriented to the world of peers and attached to others their own age, younger and older adolescents maintain strong ties to their parents. Continued integration into the world of peers is not associated with a breakdown in the parent-child relationship.

AUTONOMY

From the point of view of psychoanalytic theorists, changes in autonomy are akin to changes in attachment. Increased emotional independence from parents (disengagement) is seen as a precondition for increased behavioral independence (autonomy). Other scholars have speculated that it is increased self-reliance, initiative, and responsibility for follow-through on the adolescent part that makes emotional independence

possible. No matter how research resolves this question, it is important not to muddle disengagement and autonomy into one mix. They have to be separated conceptually so that their relationship can be studied rather than assumed.

There is a widespread impression that autonomy is a brand new issue at adolescence. Considerable empirical evidence suggests that independence training for children begins far earlier, especially in middle-class families. Parents typically expect and value increasing signs of independence with increasing age, beginning about when the child first becomes able to tie his own shoes, if not before. Behavioral independence is neither as new nor as hot an issue in typical families at early adolescence as is commonly assumed. For these reasons, the autonomy issue for young adolescents is described in Table 1 in terms of extending self-initiated activity and confidence to wider behavioral realms. Handling an increased allowance, meeting family obligations on time without being told, caring responsibly for younger brothers and sisters, remembering one's own track shoes or the day the garbage gets picked up, being expected to make one's own judgments about whether or when to take a drink—all these are examples of new choices or initiatives that may be expected, demanded, and made.

Psychoanalytic formulations have led to the assumption that rebelliousness is a natural part of the process of disengagement, implying that autonomy is produced through rebelliousness. The available data suggest quite another picture. Not only do most parents increase their demands for independence during early adolescence, but those adolescents who feel and are most independent report the most positive relationships with parents. Autonomy in adolescence, however measured, is more related to respect for parents and continued affection for them than to rebellious and oppositional behavior.

Traditionally, autonomous behavior has been more important for males than for females in our society. Thus, theories based upon rebelliousness as a means of attaining autonomy seem to be based upon clinical and field studies of boys rather than girls. Autonomy has rarely been studied longitudinally, following the same young people over a long period of time. As a result, we know relatively little about the pattern of changes in autonomy during the transition from childhood to adolescence and during adolescence itself. We do know that on a great many indices that are presumed to measure autonomy at any given point during this period, boys appear to be more autonomous than girls. And the role of autonomy in the over-

all personality organization of boys appears to be more central during early adolescence than it is for girls. As Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson have interpreted their data:

> For the boy.... the integrated capacity for erotic ties and the solution of the identity challenge demand separation and autonomy. What the girl achieves through intimate connection with others, the boy must manage by disconnecting, by separating himself and asserting his right to be distinct....[1]

SEXUALITY

Prior to Freud, sexuality was viewed as a phenomenon beginning at puberty. For Freud, however, puberty merely brought about a new phase in the development of sexual motivation. After a lengthy period of latency following early childhood, sexuality emerged *again* as an important issue, defined at puberty as a matter of changing the objects of sexual expression from parents to peers. More recent views differ. Harry Stack Sullivan discounted the Freudian view of infantile sexuality. He regarded the manipulation of the genitals and "sex play" in childhood as manifestations of curiosity which were not fundamentally sexual in nature at all. More recently, William Simon and John Gagnon have argued that for the vast majority of young people, "movement into sexual experience which the actor defines and accepts as such begins with the passage into adolescence."[2] This is not to say that continuities are absent; rather, adolescent and adult sexuality *are* influenced by earlier developments that are not usefully thought of as *sexual.* The child learns some information (and frequently misinformation) about sex. The child certainly is exposed to and comes to internalize a set of values about bodies and physical attractiveness. Most importantly, the child learns what are called *sex roles.* (Since little if any of the content of childhood sex roles has to do with reproductive behavior—"sex" in a narrow sense—and since the word "role" is not properly used in this expression either, the term *gender identity* is preferred.) From this point of view, the psychosocial issue in adolescence has to do with the transformation of gender identity and social roles to include sexual activity. We know relatively little about the course of initiation into sexual activity with others, having found it easier to study the frequency of sexual behaviors rather than the processes by means of which adolescents typically become sexually active.

Simon and Gagnon and others have pointed out that childhood and early adolescent socialization provide an interpersonal competence for girls that is not provided for boys. The onset of sexual activity for girls involves incorporating it into social roles and an identity wherein capacities for tenderness, self-disclosure, and intimacy are already present. For the boy, on the other hand, the pathway to mature heterosexual behavior is far more likely to involve sexuality first and, only secondarily, the capacity for loving relationships.

Females appear to be socialized in precisely that area for which males during adolescence are least trained and for which they are least expected to display a capacity—intense, emotion-laden relationships and the rhetoric of romantic love. When sexual arousal is reported by females during this period, it is more often reported as a response to affectional than to erotic stimuli. Girls' first intense sexual experiences appear to occur in the context of dating; those of boys appear to occur when they are alone. For both boys and girls, sexual behavior comes to be incorporated into gender identity during adolescence, but the experiences each brings are quite different: "Dating and courtship may well be considered processes in which persons train members of the opposite sex in the meaning and content of their respective commitments."[3]

INTIMACY

Friendships between children are common from early childhood forward. After puberty, they come to include members of the opposite sex and to be integrated with sexual activity. They also are transformed, at least among girls, to include mutual disclosure of personal experiences, feelings and attitudes, and advanced levels of empathy. The research of Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson has been especially informative in our understanding of these changes. Before puberty, young girls' friendships focus on commonly shared activities, on "doing things" with another person. After the physical and sexual changes brought about by puberty and the growth spurt, friendships become more emotion-laden and involve the mutual sharing of secrets—about boys, about dating experiences, and about sex. Girls develop the skills that make later intimate relationships possible by mutual sharing and mutual resolution with other girls of initially anxiety-arousing experiences. In later adolescence, friendships appear to be less emotional, less an instrument for the reduction of anxiety, and

more an equitable sharing of individual personalities, talents, and interests. The skills learned in the middle period can be transferred to relationships with males.

Boys are less likely to form intimate relationships with one another than are girls. As for the youngest group of girls, friendship for boys through adolescence involves a tie to a congenial companion with whom one shares common activities. More often than for girls, boys' friendships tend to occur in the context of cliques and gangs which--rather than providing socialization for one-to-one intimate relationships--provide validation of and support for the autonomy that is so highly valued for males in our society.

ACHIEVEMENT

Studies of the development of vocational choice have suggested that it is not until the beginning of the second decade of life that vocational choices come to be characterized by young people's taking into account their own personal characteristics (interests, abilities, and interpersonal styles) in relation to jobs. Thus, in early adolescence, vocational choices start to become more "realistic"; that is, more and more they reflect a process of matching personal characteristics to what are thought to be the characteristics of jobs. Similarly, adolescents now have a concept of a personal future that they did not have as children. This makes it possible for them to link up their present achievements and their evaluations of those achievements with their future possible achievements in ways that were not possible for them in childhood. This new realism and their newfound ability to imagine a future must be considered in relation to the fact that, increasingly, choices made have more far-reaching consequences. For example, the girl who opts out of science and mathematics as early as possible in secondary school is closing doors that may prove difficult to reopen. Gender identity is very much linked to future ambitions.

After reviewing what is known about the socialization of achievement orientation in girls, Aletha Stein and Margaret Bailey concluded that the childrearing practices that lead to the development of feminine gender identity often are antagonistic to those that lead to achievement-oriented behavior. Moderate levels of affection and control, encouragement of individual autonomy, and high standards for accomplishment lead to a variety of achievement-oriented behaviors for *both* boys and girls. (Among such behaviors are attribution

of successes and failures to the self instead of to "luck" or to others; intrinsic satisfaction from doing better on a given task; approach to, rather than avoidance of, situations where competence is to be evaluated; persistence at a task instead of withdrawal in the face of frustration, temporary setback, or failure; and high educational and vocational aspirations.) However, in the conventional socialization of girls, encouragement of and support for competence in interpersonal situations often takes the place of socialization for achievement.

There is some evidence for the notion that differential socialization by gender may be accelerated during early adolescence. Gender differences in performance on mathematics and verbal abilities tests do not emerge until adolescence. Girls also begin to opt out of "boys' subjects" in schools and may even begin to underachieve in relation to their ability, apparently reacting to the common norms that "good girls get good grades" but "not too good." As Judith Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan have put it, "[S]ome time in adolescence the message becomes clear that one had better not do too well, that competition is aggressive and unfeminine, that deviation threatens the heterosexual relationship."[4]

IDENTITY

Few formulations of adolescence are as widely known as that of Erik Erikson. According to Erikson, identity formation becomes the central issue in adolescence because bodily change and new social roles demand new conceptions of self, not only from the young adolescent, but from others as well. This "identity crisis" can be resolved only through new identification with peers and with leader figures outside the family. Erikson says that identity includes a conscious sense of uniqueness, an unconscious striving for a continuity of experience, and solidarity with a group's ideals. The continuity builds two bridges: between what the person has come to be prior to adolescence (largely through partial identifications with parents) and what the person promises to become as an adult; and between what one conceives one's self to be and what others see and expect. A new sense of self is achieved neither by denying one's past nor by ignoring one's current social relationships. Adolescents' social relations influence the process of identity formation because it takes others to confirm their new biological and social status and because their attempts to try out new ways of behaving require feedback.

The peer group is the primary arena used by adolescents to test new identities. Early adolescent romances, Erikson notes, may have less to do with sex than with using a close relationship to "try on" new behaviors and obtain feedback about how they "fit." "Am I really this way?" "Does she think I'm faking it or is it really me?"

Some adolescents do not take advantage of the opportunities that the peer group provides for self-exploration and feedback. They slip into conventional social pockets with their accompanying ready-made identities. Superjock, brain, and prom queen roles are good examples. Erikson refers to this as *identity foreclosure*. Some adolescents come to define themselves almost totally in terms of what parents are not and value least. The daughter of the fundamentalist minister expounds free love. The son of the liberal politician asserts his newfound preference for espionage as a career. This kind of *negative identity* appears to occur among adolescents who live in conflict-filled family settings. The adolescents involved seem not to realize that by defining themselves exclusively in terms of what parents are not, they remain just as tied to them as if their identities were based on what their parents are or profess to be. No real exploration of the self is involved.

Erikson claims that identity, at its optimum, is experienced as a sense of well-being. People feel at home with themselves, have a sense of knowing where they are going, and are confident that those who matter will recognize them as they are and as they hope to be. Changes in self-concept and in the integration of various images of self during early adolescence have been studied very little. Research on self-esteem comes closest to getting at what Erikson calls a sense of well-being. Morris Rosenberg's comprehensive research shows that adolescents with low self-esteem suffer from anxiety and have dismal interpersonal relationships.

According to Rosenberg, low self-esteem is associated with internal distress for several reasons. The strain of "putting on a front" produces anxiety. Persons with low self-esteem have a less stable fix on who they are. They lack a consistent frame of reference to which they can relate their experience of self and others. This too is anxiety provoking. Persons of low self-esteem are lonely and vulnerable. They are apt to be sensitive to criticism; to be bothered if others have a poor opinion of them; to be disturbed if they do poorly at some task; to be upset when they become aware of some fault or inadequacy; and often are described by others as touchy and easily hurt.

Rosenberg also shows that persons with low self-regard are awkward with others; they assume that others do not like them; they have little faith in human nature; and they are submissive, non-assertive, and not respected by or popular with others. They rarely participate in extracurricular activities, class discussions, and informal conversations.

Adolescents low in self-esteem are locked in a circular trap. Their isolation from others precludes the development of a more positive view of self, and their anxiety and vulnerability preclude entry into social interactions that might help. The interdependence of attitudes toward self and others so much featured in Erikson's theory is well-illustrated by Rosenberg's work and by the work of others whose findings Rosenberg has confirmed and extended.

THE SECONDARY CHANGES REVISITED

None of the six issues that have been discussed above is an issue only during adolescence. Each has a history and a future in the life cycle. For example, autoromy typically becomes an issue for children and families when children begin to walk and talk. It will be an issue again, for many children, when decisions may have to be made about the care of aging parents. The strong attachments of young children to their parents are modified not only during adolescence but later on, too, as career and lifestyle changes may mean geographical, social, or psychological separation. What is of particular interest at adolescence is not attachment but certain changes in attachment; not the presence of self-concepts but changes in their organization; not sexuality but changes in its expression. Another look at Table 1 from this perspective is helpful. Note that the emphasis is upon *changes* in the issues rather than upon absolute definitions of the issues themselves.

Why this particular emphasis on change? Primarily because we are accustomed to thinking about adolescence as the sore thumb of developmental periods, sticking out, hurting, somehow dramatically different from the others. While there *are* changes in adolescence, the sore-thumb view is far from accurate. The typical changes of adolescence tend to be gradual, building on what is already there and preparing the young person for the next period in life. The continuities between childhood and adolescence and between adolescence and adulthood are more impressive than the discontinuities.

Having said that there are important changes in adolescence and that they are typically not so dramatic or discontinuous as most people seem to think, let us consider how the changes come about. What causes us to make the transition from childhood to adolescence? The answers seem to lie in another set of changes, even more fundamental than the secondary changes already mentioned. These other, *primary* changes, are of three kinds—biological, psychological and social.

Chapter II

THE PRIMARY CHANGES OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

BIOLOGICAL CHANGE— THE ADVENT OF PUBERTY

The first half of the second decade of life brings with it a major transformation of the body and its functions. Outwardly the child before us begins to assume the bodily proportions and the physical characteristics of an adult. Height, for example, begins to increase at a faster rate than in childhood (see Figures 1 and 2), the rate of growth peaking for girls at about age 12; for boys, peaking at age 14, on the average. Facial features and body shape change markedly. Pubic and axilliary (underarm) hair appears; facial hair begins to sprout for boys. Female breast development begins. Males' shoulders become wide, as do females' hips. Voices deepen, although more so for boys than for girls. Strength and stamina increase, leading to an increased capacity for both work and play. The reproductive organs begin to change as well. It is not our purpose here to describe the course of these changes in detail but to comment upon their significance for behavioral development, especially of the secondary changes mentioned in Chapter I.

Among the most important—and most often ignored—characteristics of puberty are normal but immense variations from individual to individual in the time of its onset, its duration, and its termination. In boys, for example (see Figure 1), the pubertal sequence may begin between 10 and 13½ years with an acceleration of growth in the testes and scrotum. If this sequence is considered to terminate at the time of the first ejaculation, the average age at termination is 13½ to 14. However, ejaculation may also occur much earlier or later depending upon when the process began. Among the remarkable normal variations is that, given two boys of the same chronological age, one may complete the sequence before the other

Figure 1

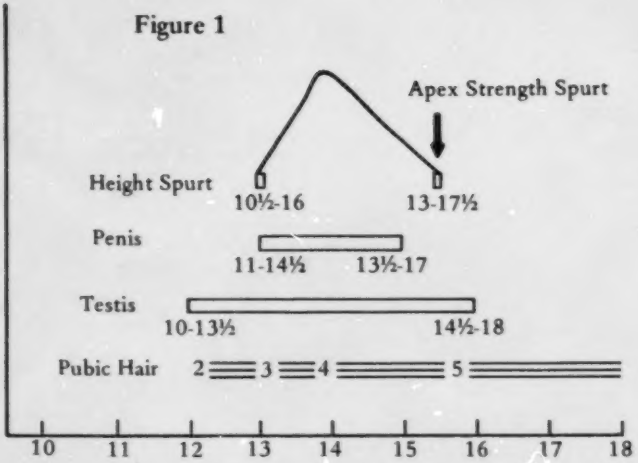


Figure 1. Diagram of sequence of events at adolescence in boys. An average boy is represented: the range of ages within which each event charted may begin and end is given by the figures placed directly below the start and finish of the event. The numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5 in relation to pubic hair represent the stages of growth of this secondary sex characteristic. (Reprinted by permission of the author and publishers from Tanner, 1959.)

Figure 2

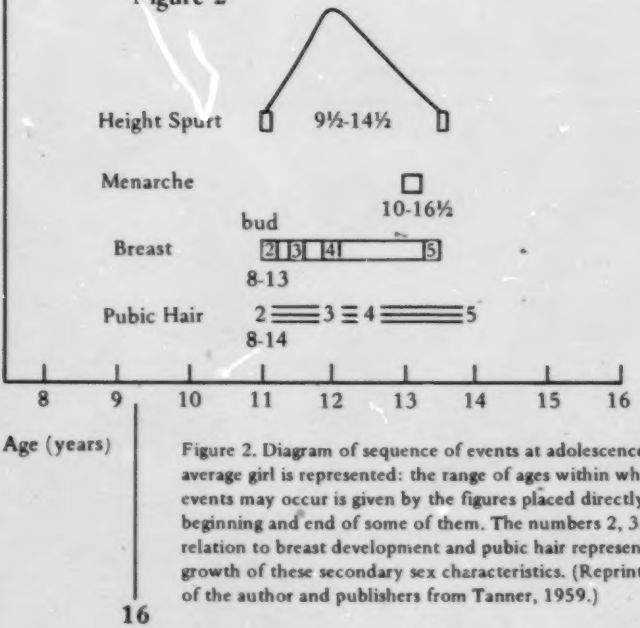


Figure 2. Diagram of sequence of events at adolescence in girls. An average girl is represented: the range of ages within which some of the events may occur is given by the figures placed directly below the beginning and end of some of them. The numbers 2, 3, 4, and 5 in relation to breast development and pubic hair represent the stages of growth of these secondary sex characteristics. (Reprinted by permission of the author and publishers from Tanner, 1959.)

has begun it. Similarly, in girls (see Figure 2) the first menstrual period, or *menarche*, may occur at 10 or may not occur until about 16½.

As physical characteristics change and events associated with reproductive maturity begin to occur, peers, parents, and other people important to the adolescent begin to form new assumptions about the young person. They make new inferences about overall maturity, interests, and attitudes; and about the desirability of the person as a friend, as someone possibly no longer deserving of "little kid" treatment, as someone who might be a possible sexual partner, or as someone who can no longer be kissed or cuddled at bedtime. Given the variation in the timing of biological change, this means that adolescents of the same chronological age but of differing biological age may be living in environments with quite different social expectations. Thus, especially during the junior-high-school years, there is a wider range of individual differences in *both* biological and psychosocial characteristics than before or after.

Attachment. According to the psychoanalytic accounts of changes in attachments to parents, puberty is very much implicated in the disengagement process. It is puberty that is presumed to reawaken infantile ties to parents. While there is little empirical data bearing on this issue outside of therapeutic situations, common observation suggests a number of changes in outward shows of affection between parents and their early adolescent children. Shortly after puberty, kissing and cuddling of sons and daughters are perceived differently. Who may comfortably lie in the same bed watching television together changes. Long-existing affectional behaviors appear to acquire new connotations that were nonexistent prior to pubertal onset.

Autonomy. Physically-mature adolescent children are likely to be seen as more "responsible" than their less physically mature age-mates. More initiative and follow-through in work and play are likely to be expected of those who resemble adults than of those who do not. Early-maturing boys, for example, more often occupy positions of leadership in the peer culture. On the other hand, late maturers, perhaps owing to their being on the outside so often in adolescence, as adults appear to be less conventional, more likely to engage in exploration, and less often to react to stress in rigid ways.

Sexuality. At one level, the linkage of puberty and sexuality seems so obvious as to require little comment. Sexual

maturation should mean "increased sex drive." However, as Clellan Ford and Frank Beach have documented, "sexual" activity with others of both sexes is common before puberty. William Simon and John Gagnon have argued that genital activities cannot be understood as *sexual* until past puberty. Adult-like meanings are not attached to genital activities until around or after puberty. Empirically, as noted above, we know relatively little about the processes of initiation of adolescent sexual activity.

Intimacy. We have labelled certain modifications in interpersonal skills and behaviors in adolescence as changes in intimacy. The role of biological change in bringing about the new interpersonal characteristics is uncertain. We do know that much of the content of early attempts at intimacy, at least between girls, concerns dating and sex.

Achievement. We have already noted that gender differences in achievement-test scores do not emerge until early adolescence. Some argue that such differences are genetically determined and are genetically linked to puberty. On the other hand, some researchers claim that signs of impending biological maturity lead the people who are important to adolescents to treat them differently by expecting and rewarding more conventional gender role behavior than before. Thus, girls may more often be expected to perform tasks well but not *too* well and especially not in "boys' " subjects. Both points of view implicate pubertal events in achievement behavior; however, we lack definite knowledge.

Identity. Erikson has argued that the onset of puberty is a major determinant of an adolescent identity crisis. While a dramatic crisis does not have to occur, it appears inevitable that the adolescent's concept of self will change to incorporate both the new physical characteristics that appear in the mirror from day to day and the new expectations that these changes arouse in others. Again, studies of early- *versus* late-maturers provide the best data we have in this regard. The former tend to think more highly of themselves than do the latter. On the other hand, early-maturing boys conform particularly well in personality and social characteristics to what Erikson labels *identity foreclosure.* Because their early maturity brings them substantial social reward, they are less likely to explore what they might be. Not surprisingly, they turn out to be more conventional as adults too.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE– THE ADVENT OF FORMAL OPERATIONS

The conception of possibilities outside the immediate environment is the central "new" feature of adolescent thinking. It is the feature that best distinguishes the kind of thinking found in adolescents from that encountered in younger children. Consider the following anecdote:

> Only brave pilots are allowed to fly over high mountains. This summer a fighter pilot flew over the Alps, collided with an aerial cable railway, and cut a main cable causing some cars to fall to the glacier below. Several people were killed and many others had to spend the night suspended over the glacier.[5]

When presented this anecdote, and asked whether or not the pilot is a careful airman, children respond on the basis of the information given them:

> "Yes, he was brave."
> "Yes, the cable shouldn't be there."
> "No, he was a show-off."
> "No, because he hit the cable."
> "No, because if he was careful he would not have cut the cable."[6]

Adolescents, on the other hand, go beyond the information actually given to consider possibilities:

> "Yes (no, he might have been), but the weather (or visibility, maintenance of the plane, other aircraft, health problems) may have played a role."[7]

Adolescents go beyond the information given in the sketch to think about what might be true. They reason by taking what is possible as well as what is actually given as a point of departure for their thought processes. Other words for "possibility" are "hypothesis," "principle," or even "ideal." Adolescents are able to reason about physical and social events in terms of the unobserved and the unobservable. They can for the first time reason about justice, for example, and get quite worked up emotionally about other ideals, too. They are also able to come up with possibilities in a systematic way.

Children given four plastic chips of different colors and asked to put them together in as many different ways as possible, for example, manage at best to combine only two of the pieces of plastic together at a time. Beyond this, they seem bewildered and do not move ahead in any systematic way.

Adolescents, on the other hand, come up with a system of ordered combinations:

(1) None	(2) Red (R)	(6) RG	(12) RGB	(16) RGBY[8]
	(3) Green (G)	(7) RB	(13) RGY	
	(4) Blue (B)	(8) RY	(14) RBY	
	(5) Yellow (Y)	(9) GB	(15) GBY	
		(10) GY		
		(11) BY		

Adolescents are not only able to come up with all of the possibilities, they think of more complex combinations as possibilities. And, increasingly with age, they produce the combinations systematically.

To summarize, then, adolescents can reason on the basis of possibilities instead of being restricted to what they are experiencing or have experienced in the past. And they can generate possibilities exhaustively and, gradually, in a systematic way. To do this requires a monitoring of one's own mental activities. And this ability to think about one's own thought, or *reflective thinking,* also emerges in adolescence. In the social realm, this same ability is reflected, for example, in describing a friend to a third party. The adolescent, unlike the child, is able to take into account the possible inferences the third party might make and to shape his description accordingly: "He is shy—but not anxious." "He is proud of his accomplishment—but not a show-off."

The study of the distinctive features of adolescent thinking has been most influenced by the work of Jean Piaget and his colleague, Barbel Inhelder. While much research remains to be done, the description of adolescent thinking presented by Piaget and Inhelder seems to have held up (although the logical model that Piaget believes underlies the apparent changes in reasoning recently has been challenged). Piaget refers to the mental activities of adolescents as "formal operations" in contrast to the "concrete operations" of children.

In early adolescence, there is little question that young people continue to improve their performance in tasks that call upon concrete operations. They gradually also come to be able to reason in the more formal ways described above. Formal operations are not found at all in some non-Western societies. In Western societies they are rarely found in much more than two-thirds of the population at any age beyond 13 or 14. Given present knowledge, it is difficult to say whether environmental influences preclude their development in some societies or whether we lack appropriate ways of probing for

their presence. For example, an effective automobile mechanic, when presented with the brief list of what is wrong with a car, must reason in terms of possibilities and compare them systematically with what he does and does not know in order to make a diagnosis. While this process clearly requires formal operational skills, the same mechanic might not do so well on a laboratory or pencil-and-paper task that taps the same competencies in a strange context and content. We have a lot to learn about formal operations, but their power to change the individual's concepts of himself and his world at adolescence is impressive.

Attachment and Autonomy. How might formal operational skills play a role in disengaging children from infantile parental ties and in expanding autonomy? Formal operational skills permit adolescents to "read" other people, including parents, in more differentiated and complex ways. They can compare their family situations to notions of what they might be. They can apply principles and ideals to their own behavior and that of their parents. They now have the cognitive equipment to think about family issues and situations independent of their own immersion in them. They are in a better position to understand rules as embodiments of principles. This new skill can be irritating to parents when young adolescents point to inconsistencies between the adults' stated principles and their behavior. With formal operational skills, adolescents are able to consider their own needs and wants, those of their parents, and those of their peers simultaneously. This equips them to manage their social interactions more than one or two moves ahead. Thus, they can be both more persuasive ("If I say this, she'll say that and that'll be the end of it; so I'd better try it another way") and more effective in managing the impressions of themselves that they create in others. While they do not always use their new abilities to reason about family situations —and often are not expected to—during adolescence young people come to appreciate social situations as adults do.

Intimacy and sexuality. As described by theorists like Sullivan and Erikson, the more mature forms of intimacy and their integration with sexuality seem to require formal-operational interpersonal skills. Taking the self and an intimate's point of view into account in relation to some principle such as fidelity, honesty, or openness, requires the sophisticated thinking skills involved in simultaneously considering multiple perspectives on a given issue. Advanced reasoning skills need not always lead to positive interpersonal outcomes, however. Impressions

can be managed to create relationships not based upon the kind of emotional empathy and caring that the notion of intimacy carries. Although we imply that the effects of changes in reasoning on "ideal" psychosocial development are "good," it is important to bear in mind that new cognitive skills can be used in the service of defense, distortion, and isolation, too.

Achievement. Because adolescents can think effectively about what is *possible* rather than being tied in their reasoning to what *is*, they have a personal future in a sense that younger children do not. The consequences of present achievements for future accomplishments are better appreciated. Because they have more differentiated and better organized views of themselves, their personalities, abilities, and possibilities for future achievement, they are in a better position to consider the match between their interests and abilities and vocational requirements. Indeed, the matching that characterizes adolescents' career choices appears to require formal-operational skills.

Identity. Identity has to do with concepts of self and putting together these concepts into a stable picture of self. Owing to their new cognitive skills during early adolescence, young people come to have both more differentiated and more integrated self-concepts. Consider the following self-description provided by a nine-year-old British boy:

> I have dark brown hair, brown eyes, and a fair face. I am a quick worker but am often lazy. I am good but often cheeky and naughty. My character is sometimes funny and sometimes serious. My behavior is sometimes silly and stupid and often good it is often funny my daddy thinks.[9]

Pre-adolescent children's impressions of self (and others) are like beads strung on a string. The elements of the description emerge, one by one, without much attention to how they fit together, to underlying qualities, or to the impression that the total might create in others. Adolescents, on the other hand, organize impressions so that the elements are not just strung together but are integrated through the use of qualifying terms, distinctions between real and apparent qualities, and a new ability to put together what may seem to be inconsistent or contradictory. Adolescents' descriptions also become increasingly *psychological*, focusing upon internal states, intentions, and traits instead of upon physical appearance and outward

behavior alone. A 14-year-old British girl's self description illustrates these points:

> I am a very temperamental person, sometimes, well *most* of the time, I am happy. Then now and again I just go moody for no reason at all. I enjoy being different from everybody else, and like to think of myself as being fairly modern.... When I am nervous I talk a lot, and this gives some important new acquaintances a bad impression, when I am trying to make a good one. I worry a lot about getting married and having a family, because I am frightened that I will make a mess of it.[10]

Formal operations not only are reflected in these more organized self-concepts but also are critical to the very process of identity formation. As Erikson has defined it, the process requires simultaneous reflection on the observed behavior of both self and others. The process requires taking a number of perspectives into account simultaneously, a feat possible only when formal-operational skills are in place. "The individual judges himself in light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them."[11] And, at the same time, "... he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him."[12] Judgments of self are dependent upon others' judgments of us and upon the framework we use for making judgments. But we also have to consider at another level the quality of the other person's judgments and, Erikson is saying, we can do that only in relation to our own self-perceptions and the framework we use to make such judgments. Thus, formal operations contribute to the origins of the "identity crisis" in early adolescence because there is now a future into which one can extend one's self and because the self is now much more differentiated. And, in later adolescence, formal operations are essential to the resolution of the crisis because this requires multiple perspective-taking of the complex sort described above.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL DEFINITION

In their studies of the transition from childhood to adolescence and from adolescence to adulthood in non-industrial societies, anthropologists have brought to our attention the special set of circumstances that exists when there is universal agreement within a society about the norms for the behavior of a given age group. In such societies the norms for what

constitutes acceptable social behavior may change dramatically at or around puberty. There is not only consensus among the older generation about what the behavior of the younger group should be but support from peers during the transition as well. Important public rituals, *rites of passage*, may well mark the transition from one period to another in such societies.

Implications for the secondary changes. In societies of the sort described, appropriate relations between adolescents and elders after puberty are likely to be highly specified. Permissible ways of showing affection may be carefully limited. Spheres in which autonomy may be exercised are clearly prescribed, if present. (It has been argued that autonomy as we understand it in more complex societies does not exist at all in non-industrial societies.) Whether such societies are more permissive or as restrictive as our own in relation to the norms that regulate intimacy and sexuality, the norms are likely to be clearly specified and more universal in application. In addition, few choices of vocation are available. Since "work" roles often are not separate from family roles, and since the family status into which one is born constrains what one will do, the need to match individual, personal characteristics to myriad "work" opportunities does not often arise. Identity is specified: one can be a man or a woman in one way, or only a few ways.

In American society, there is no such fundamental change in social definition. Minimal ages for leaving school, for adopting work roles, for serving in the military, for driving a car, or for getting married, often mean sudden and formal redefinitions of rights and obligations for individuals. However, our society does not invest these ages with universal meaning. Neither do they all occur at the same time, nor do they apply to so many realms of behavior that a socially-shared new identity is defined for individuals. It is to the absence of such consensus and role definition in complex industrial societies that problem behavior in adolescence is often attributed. Young adolescents face a diversity of expectations regarding present conduct and a variety of future adult role possibilities. While there appears to be increasing age segregation in industrial societies—reflected, in adolescence, by the fact that secondary education is becoming increasingly universal—there is not a clearly defined, *responsible* role for youth. Indeed, adolescence is more likely to be seen as a period of preparation for life than as a form of life itself.

THE PRIMARY CHANGES REVISITED

In what ways are biological, psychological, and social changes *primary?* First, there is the matter of timing. The primary changes occur before the secondary changes. Second, there is the matter of causality. The assertion is that puberty and formal operations (and universal change in social definition, when it occurs) play a major role in bringing about the secondary changes. Third, there is universality in the form the biological and cognitive changes take. Primary changes are more similar from society to society than are secondary changes. While the primary changes must inevitably lead to some secondary change, what that change is will vary from society to society.

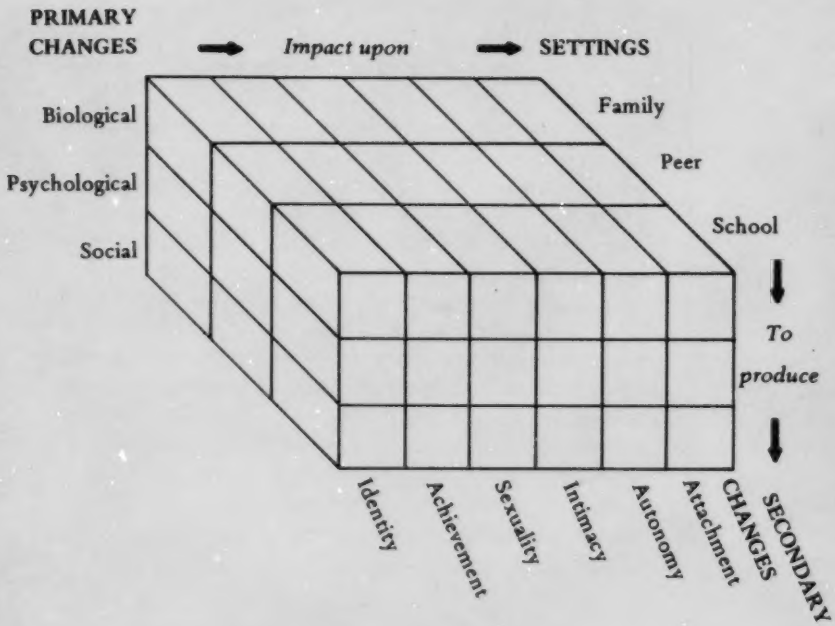
Chapter III

THE FRAMEWORK OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

The framework I have presented verbally is offered graphically in Figure 3. The figure highlights the primary and secondary changes we have already considered. Thus, in early adolescence the primary changes play the major role in bringing about the secondary changes. Biological changes raise new issues for autonomy, achievement, identity, and the like. And so do changes in thinking ability. However, the impact of the primary changes on these psychosocial issues does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs in family, peer, school, community, media, church—and, for some, work—settings. The variations in how the issues are resolved stem not only from individuals' past histories but also from their current social relationships. The others who are important in adolescents' lives—whom they encounter in family, peer, school, and community settings—react to the primary changes with modified expectations and norms. Puberty, for example, does not directly dictate the initiation of sexual activity. How others respond to puberty is critical in determining who becomes sexually active. Changes in self-concept do not emerge only from looking at one's changing body in the mirror; they emerge also because of the reactions of parents and peers to the bodily changes. (Stating it in another way, Glen Elder has observed that adolescents do not experience society and its values directly but as it is presented to them through their actual social participations in familial, peer, school, and other settings.)

Students of development often are faced with questions about the universality of their conclusions. In presenting the framework I do not mean to imply that the psychosocial issues have particular resolutions that are universal, healthy, or

Figure 3: THE FRAMEWORK



normal. The implication is only that new issues in psychosocial development arise when the primary changes occur. How the issues are resolved depends upon the sociocultural context. Consider the business of modifying attachments to parents, for example. In their studies of working-class people in East London, Michael Young and Peter Willmott noted that children, even after marriage, were expected to spend time with their parents on a weekly basis. In contrast, Herbert Gans, in his study of an Italian-American working-class neighborhood in Boston, described normative adult social relations in terms of continuing contact not nearly so much with parents as with siblings and cousins. While some disengagement always occurs, the form it is likely to take during adolescence must reflect social norms for the behavior of adult children toward their parents. Given the sources of our theories about adolescence and the populations scientists have studied, there is real danger in identifying white, middle-class, male outcomes as "normal" and "healthy."

Through considering the various values, norms, and expectations to which the adolescent is subject by virtue of the roles played in the family, with peers, and in school, the framework in Figure 3 permits sociocultural variations in outcomes to be taken into account. The intent of this discussion is to highlight the framework and not to summarize the information that is supposed to help organize everything important that could be said about family, peer, and school roles during early adolescence. (The reader is referred to the *Seventy-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, "Toward Adolescence: The Middle School Years,"* for recent reviews of various aspects of early adolescent development and its contexts.) After considering selected issues dealing with adolescents in families, peers, and schools, I shall return, in conclusion, to a discussion of the framework itself and how it can be used.

FAMILY ROLES

The view that adolescence is by nature a stormy and stressful period, combined with the widespread talk of a generation gap that began in the late 1960s, mistakenly colors many people's views of family interaction and parental influence on children during early adolescence. Large-scale surveys of representative samples of families with adolescents in the United States and other industrialized societies have shown, and con-

tinue to show, that adolescence is a satisfying and pacific period in three-fourths of families, or even more. There is much evidence counter to the storm-and-stress perspective of family relations. Studies where family interaction is directly observed suggest that there may be a period of temporary disequilibrium in early adolescence while the family adjusts to having a "new person" in the household—"new" in stature, "new" in approaching reproductive capability, "new" in cognitive competence—but this disequilibrium in no way approaches the shoot-out that many parents are led to expect from media reports. Instead, in most families, there appears to be a period of adaptation to the primary changes, a period when both parents and their newly adolescent children work out—often not consciously—what these changes mean for their relationships.*

Little as we know about the details of this period of adaptation, in normal families that have been studied (intact families from non-delinquent, non-clinical populations) family relations appear to become more equal. Children not only are the recipients of affection and support from parents; they begin to initiate such behaviors. Nurturance comes, for the first time, to be mutual. Similarly, early adolescent males (females have not been studied as often) become more assertive in interactions with parents. They more often suggest courses of action on their own. They interrupt family dialogues not only more often but more successfully (in the sense that parents are more likely to yield to their interruptions and to listen to what they have to say). Young adolescents' opinions are more frequently reflected in final family decisions than was the case prior to puberty. It is in delinquent or otherwise deviant populations of adolescents and their families *(e.g.*, runaway and youth abuse situations) that such changes do not seem to occur. In these families interaction does not become more equal whether we speak of supportiveness or assertiveness in exchanges with parents. Delinquent adolescents initiate less; there is less reciprocity. Our present knowledge, then, suggests that families with deviant adolescents have not been able to adjust—for whatever reasons—to the new persons in their households. Instead, as James Alexander has suggested, they develop hostility around their old patterns of interaction. Put in terms of the framework, the question for practitioners and

*See the Center for Early Adolescence's publication, *Understanding Families with Young Adolescents*, by Laurence D. Steinberg (1980).

researchers alike is how families manage the transition from childhood to adolescence, how they recognize the primary changes, how they deal with them, and what implications this has for the issues of secondary change.

We know more about parental influence on some aspects of secondary change than we do about alterations in family interaction. During early and later adolescence, parents continue to exercise sizeable influences on their children's educational and vocational aspirations. While we may only speculate that many parents respond to puberty by expecting more achievement from sons and less from daughters than before, it is clear from existing data that throughout adolescence, parental aspirations for achievement continue to play a major role in determining adolescents' goals. The aspirations of friends come to be important, too, but parental standards and encouragement continue to be influential. In addition, parental child-rearing practices continue to influence adolescents' autonomous behavior. Both authoritarian and permissive parental practices foster excessive peer conformity, lack of self-confidence, and rebelliousness, driving the child out of the family and making the child more vulnerable to negative peer-group influences. Most families manage to avoid these extreme parenting styles in early adolescence; they provide a secure base for young adolescents' continued movement into the world of peers. The idea that peers replace parents as agents of influence during adolescence is probably best put to rest. Rather, positive family relations before and during early adolescence lead to social competence and confidence that enable the young adolescent to be competent and confident in relationships with peers.

PEERS

I have commented often on the studies of early and late maturation that show persistent effects into late adolescence and adulthood of variations in the early or late onset of puberty and the growth spurt. Many of these effects—greater self-esteem, greater social participation in informal and formal social situations in adulthood, later initiation into and subsequent lower rates of sexual activity—depend upon the response of peers to the timing of growth, illustrating once again that the primary changes do not occur in a social vacuum. Peers respond differently to the observed biological change— or lack thereof—in early and late maturers. They view early maturers

as more often having the traits they associate with prestige in the peer group (as Margaret Faust found). Early-maturing males are better equipped for athletic competition, and their peers reward athletic participation with social acceptance. Early maturers are more likely to occupy leadership positions in school-related activities. The social rewards for early-maturing males are so substantial that they may preclude self-exploration. Harvey Peskin found some support for this position in his adult-follow-up study of early and late maturers. The early maturers were more conventional in personality, lifestyle, and occupational achievement. The late maturers tended to be more flexible psychologically, to be able to handle ambiguous situations better, to have a greater sense of humor, and to have less conventional lifestyles and careers. There can be little doubt that how peers respond to biological change has a major impact on the implications of that change for psychosocial development and its secondary changes.

Even more important, good peer relations may well be indispensable to normal social development. We know that across the life span in general, social isolation—not being plugged into a social network—is associated with all forms of social and psychological pathology, from individual delinquency and problem drinking to child abuse and depressive disorders. Adolescent "social isolates," those youngsters who are neither accepted by their peers nor rejected by them, who are "out of the picture," are especially vulnerable as later adolescents and as adults to a plethora of problem behaviors. Why does this happen? Because they are out of the picture, they miss out on a lot of socialization that probably can occur only in the peer group. Willard Hartup has pointed to the control of sexual and aggressive impulses as strong examples of this phenomenon.

While the child may learn some (though not much) sexual information in the family, and while the child may learn some aspects of spousal relations through observation of his parents in the home, incest taboos preclude sexual exploration in the family. Thus, many learned sexual behaviors must come through experiences with peers. In considering aggression, Hartup argues that one can learn more about the consequences of striking out or holding back with others of roughly the same size and strength than one can in the family—where both the lopsided power structure and differences in physical stature make it difficult to explore the expression of aggression. Similarly, we have already noted that the new interpersonal assertiveness and autonomy of the early adolescent

male in the family may reflect behaviors initially shaped in the peer group and then imported into the family. In other words, family members may respond less to the child's new physical and sexual stature than to changes in behavior that reflect peers' responses to biological change. From what we know about the development of intimacy in girls, it appears that interpersonal trust and capacities for self-disclosure are more likely to be molded in peer sharing than in familial interaction, since parents rarely disclose their intimate concerns to children.

In the absence of a universal social definition of adolescence, American communities find themselves in disagreement about the proper age for experimenting with "adult" prerogatives—sex, smoking, and drinking, for example. Such experimentation eventually does occur for most young people, however, more often in peer than in family contexts. In this connection, it is often forgotten that peers learn a lot about control of impulses, as well as about their expression, from their peers. Admired older peers may well be important positive models for their younger peers, rather than leading them down those garden paths that adults fear their younger adolescents will tred too early.

SCHOOLS

The opening of junior high schools in their time, and now of middle schools, has been justified on grounds of the primary changes of early adolescence. The growth spurt and the onset of puberty were used as arguments for the removal of seventh- and eighth-graders from elementary schools. And, given that the age of pubertal onset has decreased over the past decades, the same rationale is appearing for the creation of middle schools that place sixth-, and sometimes fifth-graders in separate buildings with seventh- and eighth-graders. Individual differences in the onset, duration, and termination of the pubertal growth cycle often are cited as the foundation for decisions about what grade levels belong together. Yet outcomes of such changes in school arrangements have been little studied and the processes that might account for such changes even less so.

In considering the settings in which early adolescents spend a lot of their time, we know little about the effects of schools. Many observers feel that the junior high school has aped the high school, becoming a watered-down (junior) version of it instead of providing unique curricular and extracurricular

activities that are genuinely responsive to the wide range of individual differences in biological and psychological development found during early adolescence. But there are few studies of the actual impacts of junior high schools on development. Many social critics have argued that secondary schools foster passivity instead of autonomy, but there is no evidence that most schools foster passivity any more than do most families or most workplaces. Health education programs are regularly instituted to deal with issues of sexuality, yet little is known about their impact upon sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. While many have argued that a variety of pathways for participating and succeeding in curricular and extracurricular activities should be provided in junior high and middle schools if identity formation is to be promoted, neither have exemplary programs of this sort and their outcomes been studied.

The sparse existing literature hints that research of this sort might add to our understanding of early adolescence. Roberta Simmons and Dale Blyth have directed a program of research comparing the effects on self-esteem of seventh-grade students in kindergarten-through-eighth-grade buildings to that of seventh graders in seventh-through-ninth-grade buildings. Perhaps because of their earlier biological maturity, girls particularly show decreases in self-esteem from sixth to seventh grade when in the junior-high-school (but not in the elementary-school) setting. And the effects are stronger for early-maturing girls. Apparently the combination of early maturity, moving to a larger and less personal environment, and dating pressure from older boys contribute to the effect. Michael Rutter and his colleagues in England have recently completed a pioneering study of English secondary schools showing that, after differences in the characteristics students displayed at entry into the secondary schools are taken into account, there are still differences in important outcomes of secondary school experience. Both within-school outcomes *(e.g.,* attendance) and out-of-school outcomes *(e.g.,* performance on national examinations and delinquency) are influenced by such variables as the time teachers spent on the actual task of teaching (as opposed to being late, setting up apparatus, cleaning up); the time spent dealing with the group as a whole rather than with individual children; the ability to deal with disruptive behavior as soon as it is spotted; the use of ample praise; the assignment of homework regularly; and high expectations for performance.

The two sets of studies illustrate two different, but compatible, ways of thinking about the effects of schools. First,

one may think that schools have impact on social development because school arrangements generate patterns of peer association that persist inside and outside of school. The effect on self-esteem reported by Simmons and Blyth probably occurs not because of anything different in teaching and learning situations in the two kinds of schools but rather because different patterns of informal peer association are generated by the two systems. In the junior high school, informal peer networks may be more likely to contain older students than in the elementary school structure. To cite another example, tracking arrangements within schools may break up patterns of neighborhood peer association. New peer associates from outside the neighborhood, owing to their different expectations and the example they provide, may change the socialization of the child in and out of school.

The second way of considering the effects of schools lies in the examination of what happens in more formal teaching and learning situations. What are the effects of "time on task" on work habits in situations outside school? Do teacher styles and disciplinary practices affect moral reasoning and moral judgments? How can formal operational capabilities be recognized in classrooms where not all children have reached the level of formal operations? Schools may influence adolescent development, then, through the roles young adolescents play in peer groups associated with schools or through student roles played in teaching and learning situations.

USING THE FRAMEWORK

Turn back to Figure 3 and consider the arrows in the diagram of the framework. In this presentation of the framework the arrows are placed so that they emphasize the impact of primary changes upon the others who are important in family, peer, and school settings and the consequences of these impacts for secondary changes in psychosocial development. The direction of the arrows is a matter of emphasis rather than an absolute statement of the direction of effects. Events in families, peer groups, and schools can influence the primary changes. Nutrition and health care (generally delivered through the family) can influence the timing of the onset of puberty, for example. Some experiences in schools might influence the appearance of formal operational skills or the realms in which they are displayed. Similarly, changes in identity or intimacy with peers clearly affect the roles young adolescents play in

family, peer, and school settings. And we might add an arrow between primary changes and secondary changes suggesting the direct influence of biological change, for example, upon sexuality or identity.

The direction and placement of the arrows in Figure 3 are designed to emphasize two points. First, the most important effects of the primary changes appear to occur through the reactions of others rather than independent of them. Second, the Figure illustrates the nature of early adolescence and the transition from childhood. The primary changes appear to raise the new issues in the development of identity, achievement, sexuality, intimacy, autonomy, and attachment. Once these secondary changes begin to occur, the interplay between them and the roles people play in families, peer groups, and schools might better be represented by arrows running in both directions. And, finally, when it comes to the transition from adolescence to adulthood, the framework would need considerable revision, perhaps emphasizing the primary nature of the movement into new work and family roles and the impact of these for secondary change in psychosocial characteristics.

The framework can be related to early adolescence in many ways. First, it may be used to assess your own knowledge of the period. What two or three things can you say about biological change? About cognitive change? About changes in reasoning? How does each affect the family? Peer relations? Schools? Boys? Girls? Do Chicano and white families handle change differently? Does social class make a difference? What is the role of family relations in bringing about changes in sexuality? In achievement? In identity?

Second, the framework can be used in assessing the problems or the adjustment of a given adolescent. Where is the person in the pubertal cycle of growth? Is there evidence of formal operations? How have others important to the adolescent's environment responded to these changes? What has been the result in relation to the emergence of sexual activity? To the adolescent's conception of self? To disengagement from parents? Or, working backwards, if the person lacks the ability to initiate and follow-through with confidence, why? How are others in the family responding to the primary changes? Have their expectations been modified so that they give more responsibility?

Third, the framework can be used in thinking through the implications of a program of prevention or intervention. Is the program responsive to individual differences in biological and

cognitive status? Does the program depend, intentionally or not, upon what goes on in family, peer, or school settings? What is the program supposed to accomplish in relation to the various areas of psychosocial development? If one area, such as self-esteem, is the target, what are the implications for other areas? Is the setting chosen for intervention—family, peer group, or school—the most appropriate, given what we know about the targeted area of psychosocial development?

The framework can be used flexibly to deal with these matters and others—reviewing research literature and evaluation reports, organizing in-service training or educational programs, designing evaluation research. In each case, it is particularly important to bear in mind a fourth set of categories not presented formally in the diagram of the framework: the gender, the social class, and the ethnic background of the adolescent or group of adolescents in question. In most cases, the framework must be used separately for boys and girls. It is also important to remember that, although we lack good information about possible ethnic differences and social class variations, these may be critical to the resolution of psychosocial issues. We might want to use the framework to generate comparative questions. Do the families of middle-class black girls react differently to biological change than the families of lower-class black girls? If so, what are the implications for disengagement? For sexuality and intimacy?

Do frameworks such as the one advanced here put too much emphasis on analyzing individual aspects of behavioral development and not enough on the adolescent as a whole? In most matters, the issues of behavioral development have to be separated if the whole is to be understood. For example, the psychosocial aspects of development are integrated differently for boys than for girls. In addition, few of us apprehend a young adolescent as a whole. We see the young person from the perspective of our school, our practice, our family, or our research project. A framework of adolescent development can contribute to our broader perception of the individual as well as the age group by focusing not only upon psychosocial issues but also upon the primary changes and the important people and settings that modify their impact. Only in this broader context can we hope to achieve the sensitivity and understanding we need to work effectively with adolescents.

NOTES

[1] Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson, *The Adolescent Experience* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966), p. 348.

[2] William Simon and John Gagnon, "On Psychosexual Development," in *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, ed. David A. Goslin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), p. 741.

[3] Ibid., p. 46.

[4] Judith Bardwick and Elizabeth Douvan, "Ambivalence: The Socialization of Women," in *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, ed. V. Gornick and B.K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 152.

[5] Edwin A. Peel, *The Nature of Adolescent Judgment* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971), p. 32.

[6] Ibid., p. 33.

[7] Ibid.

[8] David Elkind, "Cognitive Development in Adolescence," in *Understanding Adolescence: Current Developments in Adolescent Psychology*, ed. J.F. Adams (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1968), p. 142.

[9] William J. Livesley and Dennis B. Bromley, *Person Perception in Childhood and Adolescence* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973), p. 338.

[10] Ibid., pp. 239-240.

[11] Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 22.

[12] Ibid.

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An Annotated Bibliography

by David S. Sheaves and Barbara Newmark

Alexander, James F. "Defensive and Supportive Communications in Normal and Deviant Families." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 40 (1973), 223-31.

Alexander reports the interaction processes of 22 "normal" and 20 "delinquent" families by videotaping the parents and the adolescent in a problem-solving situation. He finds that "delinquent" families have a high rate of defensive communication characterized by threatening, punishing, or controlling behavior. Normal families use "supportive communications." According to Alexander, the onset of adolescence is a time characterized by family stress—"delinquent" families responding with disintegration, "normal" families responding with adaptation.

Baumrind, Diana. "Authoritarian vs. Authoritative Parental Control." *Adolescence*, 3 (1968), 255-72.

Baumrind rejects permissive child-rearing and feels that authoritative parental control is more healthful for both child and parent. The authoritative parent is one who directs the child's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner; encourages give and take; shares with the child the reasoning behind policy; and does not regard him/herself as infallible. On the other hand, the authoritarian parent sets standards of conduct (usually of higher religious authority), sees obedience as a virtue, and believes the parent's word is infallible. Baumrind states that both authoritarian control and permissive noncontrol shield the child from engaging in vigorous interaction with others.

Blos, Peter. *On Adolescence: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

The author says adolescence consists of phases that must be completed. Passage through the phases does not proceed at an even rate or in a straight line. Neither time schedules nor age references can be fixed to these phases. Latency, preadolescence, and early, middle, and late adolescence are the five phases in chronological order. The book is highly psychoanalytic; the reader should be well-versed in both Freudian and psychoanalytic theory.

Blyth, Dale A., Roberta G. Simmons, and Diane Bush. "The Transition into Early Adolescence: A Longitudinal Comparison of Youth in Two Educational Contexts." *Sociology of Education,* 51 (1978), 149-62.

The authors studied the behavior of students who passed from sixth to seventh grade in two school systems with different grade configurations. In one system the students moved to a junior high school (7-9); in the other, they remained in elementary school (K-8). The authors found more negative social change associated with the transition into seventh grade in a junior high school.

Coleman, James S. *The Adolescent Society.* New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Based on a study of 10 Illinois schools, this is a portrait of adolescent society and how it is affected by the school and community. The author used questionnaires and interviews to examine the importance and characteristics of appearance, behavior, scholastic and social success, leaders and heroes.

Coleman, James S., et al. *Youth: Transition to Adulthood.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

This is a report of a panel of social scientists who examine the passage to adulthood of youth, ages 14-24—biologically, psychologically, socioculturally, historically, demographically, economically, legally, and educationally. They find an increase in social and economic segregation of youth and a shift in options available to them. The authors recommend smaller schools and an emphasis on alternatives for growing up outside the walls of formal institutions.

Devereux, Edward C. "The Role of Peer-Group Experience in Moral Development." In *Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology*. Vol. 4. Ed. John P. Hill. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970, pp. 94-140.

Seven different studies performed by Devereux and his associates are summarized here. Age seems to be the major determinant of the effect of peer-pressure—the older the subject, the more importance peer-pressure has on behavior. Other findings include: 1) the more time spent with peers, the more likely one is to succumb to peer-pressure; 2) males are more affected by peers; and 3) participation in a "gang" is a good indicator of susceptibility to peer-pressure. A cross-cultural study found that British youth have the highest rate of peer group conformity; Russian youth, the lowest.

Eisenstadt, Samuel Noah. *From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1956.

The author says that organized age groups exist in universalistic societies where the family is not the basic unit of the social division of labor. In these societies there is an emphasis on age differences and on age as a qualifier for obligations to society. He compares societies (from primitive to modern) and the way in which they classify age groups.

Elkind, David. "Cognitive Development in Adolescence." In *Understanding Adolescence: Current Developments in Adolescent Psychology*. Ed. J.F. Adams. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1968, pp. 128-58.

This essay discusses the differences between cognitive development in childhood and adolescence. Sex differences in cognitive development show up in adolescence, and formal operational thought begins to take hold. The reading includes a very informative discussion of concrete vs. formal operations.

Other readings in the book focus on marital expectations, disadvantaged adolescents, activism vs. apathy, creativity, physiological changes, sex education, vocational counseling, and privileged adolescents.

A second edition of this book was published in 1973 by Allyn & Bacon. Some of the readings of the first edition were retained and some were dropped. Readings added deal with drug use, counter cultures, a cross-cultural view of adolescence, and career development.

Faust, Margaret S. "Developmental Maturity as a Determinant in Prestige of Adolescent Girls." *Child Development*, 31 (1960), 173-84.

The author reports a study of 731 sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth grade girls, distributed into four subgroups: 1) prepuberal—those who had not reached menarche; 2) puberal—those who had achieved menarche within the preceding year; 3) postpuberal—those who were 1 to 3 years past menarche; and 4) late adolescent—those who were 3 years or more past menarche. According to the study, sixth grade girls give more prestige to prepuberal classmates; early maturers tend to suffer socially during elementary school years. Not until the seventh and eighth grades does the early-maturing girl "come into her own."*

Ford, Clellan S., and Frank A. Beach. *Patterns of Sexual Behavior*. New York: Harper & Brothers and Paul B. Hoeber Medical Books, 1951.

The author compares the patterns of sexual behavior, including adolescent sexuality, of 190 human cultural groups and a large number of primates and other mammals. Although this material is somewhat dated, the book does offer some interesting comparisons between "western" society's sexual mores and those of the more "primitive" societies.

Freud, Anna. "Adolescence." In *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. Vol 13. New York: International Universities Press, 1958, pp. 255-78.

Anna Freud sees adolescence as a time of renewed struggle between the id and ego as the child breaks out of the latency period. It is also a time of detachment from parents and "upheaval." She calls adolescence the "step-child in psychoanalytic theory" and describes the treatment of adolescents as "hazardous." Some knowledge of psychoanalytic theory will be helpful to the reader.

Friedenberg, E. *The Vanishing Adolescent*. New York: Dall, 1962.

The author says that "the opportunity for real self-definition and identity, which must be part of the growth period of adolescence, is slowly vanishing in our society." He feels that the natural process of development is being cut short by schools and society. He discusses the unique experiences of

adolescence, fantasies of adults about teenagers, and reports on a study of five teenagers with delinquency problems.

Gans, H.J. *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1962.

Gans studied native-born Americans of Italian parentage living in an inner-city Boston community, including a number of ethnic groups and reflecting a wide variety of psychological, cultural, and social forces.

Hartup, Willard W. "Adolescent Peer Relations: A Look at the Future." In *Adolescence and Youth in Prospect.* Ed. John P. Hill and Franz J. Monks. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1977, pp. 171-85.

This is a discussion of the significance that peer relations play in adolescence. Sexuality and the socialization of aggression are both seen as "healthy" outcomes of peer relations. Hartup sees a lessening of the influence of peer groups because of the declining birth rate.

For a discussion of the entire book, see Hill and Monks.

Hetherington, E. Mavis, Roger J. Stouwie, and Eugene H. Ridberg. "Patterns of Family Interaction and Child-Rearing Attitudes Related to Three Dimensions of Delinquency." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* 78 (1971), 160-76.

Two hundred families were separated into four categories reflecting the characteristics of the children: 1) non-delinquent; 2) psychopathic delinquent—amoral, impulsive, lacking concern, assaultive; 3) neurotic delinquent—withdrawn, guilty, anxious, depressed; and 4) social delinquent—participating in a gang.

Each family was then observed in a decision-making/problem-solving situation. In the psychopathic-delinquent family, interaction patterns included little if any participation by the delinquent; the father somewhat dominated the group. Unlikelihood of the delinquent to shift opinions, high participation by the delinquent, underlying tension, and a total domination by the father were the patterns of interaction observed in the social-delinquent family. The neurotic-delinquent family was characterized by a total domination of the mother over the father and the passive delinquent. No pattern of mother-father dominance and a more active participation by the child were characteristics of the interactions of non-delinquent families.

Hill, John P. and Franz J. Monks. "Some Perspectives on Adolescence in Modern Societies." In *Adolescence and Youth in Prospect,* Ed. John P. Hill and Franz J. Monks. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1977, pp. 28-78.

Adolescents in today's culture are examined by the authors, who refute some of the stereotypes associated with the age group (e.g., *sturm und drang* and the generation gap). They say youth movements are not rebellion against parents; rather, the youth activist is a well-socialized person who has internalized parents' values and who acts upon those values. Also discussed are the primary changes in adolescence (e.g. biological and cognitive change) and secondary changes (e.g., detachment and autonomy, sexuality, achievement, and identity formation).

Adolescence and Youth in Prospect is a report of an international colloquium convened to discuss what action should be taken to facilitate normal adolescent development in the future. Some of the topics discussed are adolescents' ethics and morals, cultural settings, genetics and adolescent development, family, schools and work.

Inhelder, Barbel and Jean Piaget. *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence: An Essay on the Construction of Formal Operational Structure.* New York: Basic Books, 1958.

The differences between concrete thought in childhood and formal thought in adolescence are discussed. The authors describe how problems in logic are solved by children and adolescents. The reader should have some knowledge of logic.

Jones, Mary C. "Psychological Correlates of Somatic Development." *Child Development,* 36 (1965), 899-911.

This is a longitudinal study of early- and late-maturing males who were in their late twenties at the time of this study. The young men were the subjects of earlier research by the author and Paul H. Mussen (see Mussen and Jones, 1957). Jones found that many of the characteristics of the early-maturer had carried over into adulthood—e.g., they were more poised, achieving, responsible, and socially advantaged. However, late maturers seemed to have lost some of their negative characteristics and had taken on socially positive characteristics—e.g., they were more expressive, active, exploring, and insightful.*

Jones, Mary C. and Paul H. Mussen. "Self Conceptions, Motivations, and Interpersonal Attitudes of Early- and Late-Maturing Girls." *Child Development*, 29 (1958), 491-501.

The authors studied the psychological differences between early maturers and late maturers, finding some distinct differences between the two groups. Early maturers seem to have a higher social status and a stronger need for romantic love, while late maturers need achievement and recognition, have poorer parent-child relationships, and receive a higher rating from adults. The reader might compare this study to the Faust study.*

Kagan, Jerome, and Howard A. Moss. *Birth to Maturity: A Study in Psychological Development*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962.

The findings of a Fels Research Institute study of 89 (white) individuals are the basis of this book. The subjects were born between 1929 and 1939 and enrolled in the program at birth. Child and family observation, psychometric testing, and interviews were conducted periodically until the children reached adolescence. Another study was conducted when they were between the ages of 19 and 29. The characteristics observed were passivity and dependency, aggression, achievement, sexuality, and social interaction. Stability and change of these characteristics in relationship to the child-rearing practices of the mother and the social features of the individual's family are analyzed. There is an extensive Appendix of statistical results.

Kett, Joseph P. *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 1977.

This research explains how adolescence was invented in the nineteenth century and why adolescents have accepted a dependent role. The author claims that the definitions of adolescence have been changed by economic factors and the rise of the new middle class. The author draws on diaries, memos, essays, and literature to examine the roles industrialization and modernization have played in the ways the young have been seen by themselves and others from the 1790s to the 1960s.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1953.

Kinsey's report looks at the role sexual behavior plays in the life of the human female. The first part of this three-part book includes the scope of the study, the research method, and statistical results. Part Two deals with premarital, extramarital, and marital sexual relations. The third part is concerned with the anatomy and physiology of the sexual response with an exposition of the psychological, neurological, and hormonal factors in sexual activity.

Kohn, Melvin L. *Class and Conformity.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Kohn connects social class with parental values and disciplinary actions. He says the working class parent conforms to external standards and responds to misbehavior in terms of its direct and immediate consequences. The middle class parent is more self-directed, trying to interpret the child's intent as a response to misbehavior.

Mussen, Paul H., and Mary C. Jones. "Self-Conceptions, Motivations, and Interpersonal Attitudes of Late- and Early-Maturing Boys." *Child Development,* 28 (1957), 243-56.

Mussen and Jones studied the psychological differences of early- versus late-maturing boys. They discovered that early maturers have a higher self-image, are more aggressive, and have more social status than late maturers. Late maturers were also found to have feelings of inadequacy and a strong motivation to escape from or defy their parents. See Jones, 1965, for a discussion of the long-term effects of early and late maturation.*

Offer, Daniel. *The Psychological World of the Teenager: A Study of Normal Adolescent Boys.* New York: Basic Books, 1969.

The author argues that most of the theories of adolescence are based on the study of the disturbed or delinquent adolescent, rather than the "Modal Adolescent." He sees adolescence not as a time of turmoil, but as a time of normative crises. One interesting point made by the author is that the greatest amount of parent-child conflict comes at early adolescence (i.e., 12- to 14-year-olds).

Peel, Edwin A. *The Nature of Adolescent Judgment.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1971.

Peel discusses the maturation and development of adolescent judgment from childhood through late adolescence. He offers interesting examples of judgment problems given to children and early, middle, and late adolescents. After each problem, examples of the subjects' answers are reviewed and discussed. The author uses the results to form a chronological scheme of adolescent cognitive development.

Peskin, H. "Pubertal Onset and Ego Functioning." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* 72 (1967), 1-15.

Peskin gives an overview of the earlier studies dealing with early and late maturers, then offers a psychoanalytic view of the effects of maturation on psychological behavior. The privileged social status of the early maturer is seen as a way of helping the adolescent cope with the anxiety released by rapid pubertal changes. The early maturer is described as seeing pubertal drives as uncontrollable and endangering to personal security. The late maturer considers these same drives as positive and highly constructive.

Rosenberg, Morris. *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965.

This book is the result of a survey of 5,000 adolescents who were asked how they see themselves, how they feel about themselves, and what criteria they use for self-evaluation. The author's premise is that self-image largely reflects the individual's thoughts, feelings, and behavior.

Rutter, Michael, Barbara Maughan, Peter Montimore, and Janet Ouston. *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

The authors examined twelve London inner-city schools to determine the impact of the school experience on the child's development. The study focuses on attendance, public behavior, testing success, and delinquency. The authors conclude that school behavior and academic achievement are influenced more strongly by the school process than by personal characteristics and home background; emphasis on academics, incentives and rewards, and a good learning environment are

important; and that intellectual ability influences test scores and delinquency.

Sorenson, Robert C. *Adolescent Sexuality in Contemporary America: Personal Values and Sexual Behavior, Ages Thirteen to Nineteen.* New York: World, 1973.

The statistical data in this report are based on a self-administered, confidential questionnaire and tape-recorded interviews of adolescents. The book is divided into four parts: description of the planning and methodology; personal values and attitudes as building blocks for sexual behavior; the behavior itself and its relation to social change; a glossary and statistical data.

Stein, Aletha H., and Margaret M. Bailey. "The Socialization of Achievement Orientation in Females." *Psychological Bulletin,* 80 (1973), 345-66.

The authors attempt to discover why adult females who have been high achievers in childhood have a lower level of achievement than males in adulthood. Stein discusses some of the factors that may affect achievement in females (e.g., sex-role expectations, child-rearing practices, social skills, failure anxiety), then explores ways in which achievement motivation might be heightened for females.

Steinberg, Laurence D. *Understanding Families with Young Adolescents.* Chapel Hill, NC: Center for Early Adolescence at the University of North Carolina, 1980.

Steinberg describes the developmental changes that occur in adolescence and mid-life and shows how these changes transform family relations. He explains the differences between healthy family disequilibrium and potentially harmful dysfunction.

Sullivan, Harry Stack. *The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry.* New York: Norton, 1953.

In a series of lectures at The Washington School of Psychiatry in 1946 and 1947, Sullivan expounds his theories of the understanding of human conflicts and potential.

Tanner, James M. *Growth at Adolescence.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1962.

Tanner describes the physical changes that occur with the adolescent growth spurt. Development of the reproductive system, measures of physiological maturity, prediction of adult size, and the rate of growth are some of the topics addressed. The book includes a brief discussion of changes in mentality and behavior.

Young, M., and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London.* Baltimore: Penguin, 1964.

The book gives an account of working class family relationships in a metropolitan borough in London and on an estate in Essex.

*Another study of early and late maturers that might be of interest is: Gross, Ruth T., and Paula M. Duke. "The Effect of Early Versus Late Physical Maturation on Adolescent Behavior." *Pediatric Clinics of North America,* 27 (1980): 71-78.

David S. Sheaves *is the information services coordinator of the Center for Early Adolescence and the editor of the Center's newsletter, COMMON FOCUS.*

Barbara Newmark *is a member of the Research Committee of the Young Adult Services Division of the American Library Association. She is a young adult services librarian at the Mayfield Regional Library, Mayfield Heights, Ohio.*